

Pilgrimage in Medieval Asia Minor

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At first sight, pilgrimage in Asia Minor seems to decline drastically after the early seventh century. In terms of abundance and variety of evidence, medieval Byzantine sources have far less to offer than those of earlier centuries. No texts of the seventh through fourteenth centuries can compare with the rich detail of the miracles of St. Thekla or the lives of St. Theodore of Sykeon or St. Nicholas of Myra. Those allow a whole environment to be reconstructed, featuring the lives of holy men in a rural society or the vibrant activity of a major shrine that drew people from a wide area. In addition, long-distance travelers, whether from Byzantium or the West, reveal a whole network of famous late antique shrines and their activities.¹ For the following centuries, the evidence is quite different and far more limited. Lives of saints or scattered mentions of shrines in historical texts offer inconsistent though sometimes detailed information—much of it concentrated in one period, the ninth century—but accounts of long-distance travelers are few and uninformative. The detailed life of an eleventh-century saint, Lazaros of Mount Galesion, provides a valuable exception.² Likewise, the archaeological evidence is much scarcer: the Isaurian shrines of St. Thekla and Alahan (which appears to have been a pilgrimage site) were abandoned, and only Ephesos presents continuing evidence for pilgrimage. Clay ampullae, used for the sacred oil gathered at some shrines, also appear to date only to late antiquity.³

The circumstances of the early Middle Ages, of course, were not very propitious for pilgrimage. The Arab invasions of the seventh to ninth centuries would have impeded long-distance travel, while the decline of cities and general reduction of the population

¹ For all this, see the excellent survey of P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'orient* (Paris, 1985), esp. 353–58, 363–89 for Asia Minor.

² See R. Greenfield, *The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion* (Washington, D.C., 2000), with comprehensive introduction and notes.

³ For ampullae from Ephesos, see M. Duncan-Flowers, “A Pilgrim’s Ampulla from the Shrine of St. John the Evangelist at Ephesus,” in R. Ousterhout, ed., *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Urbana, 1990), 125–39. On the other hand, lead ampullae were being made at Salonica in the 12th–15th centuries (C. Bakirtzis, “Byzantine Ampullae from Thessaloniki,” *ibid.*, 140–49), and lead and pewter ampullae from the Holy Land, normally dated to the 6th century, have now been assigned on convincing grounds to the 11th–13th centuries: D. Buckton, ed., *Byzantium, Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections* (London, 1994), 187f. The whole question of dating ampullae from Asia Minor is perhaps to be revised. This and the study of lead seals, many of which bear images of patron saints of pilgrimage sites and are sometimes pierced for wearing, offer promising lines for future research. So, no doubt, do inscriptions, though a preliminary check revealed little direct evidence for pilgrimage.

meant fewer resources for travelers. After the battle of Mantzikert in 1071, most of the interior of Asia Minor was permanently lost to Byzantium. Everything seems to indicate that pilgrimage could only have continued on a greatly reduced scale. Yet a closer look at the sources suggests a more nuanced image, with far more pilgrims visiting far more shrines than are at first apparent. I propose to present this image here by investigating a few simple questions: what shrines were still functioning? what attractions did they have to offer? who attended them? and, in the process, to show the limits of our knowledge.⁴

In the late tenth century, a certain Leon, a native of a village near Magnesia on the Maeander who came to be known as St. Lazaros of Mount Galesion, set out on an ambitious pilgrimage. On his way to the Holy Land, he first visited the shrine of St. Michael the Archangel in Chonai in Phrygia. Years later, on his return from Jerusalem, he traveled through Antioch and Cilicia to the church of St. Basil in Cappadocian Caesarea, then to the shrines of St. Theodore the General in Euchania, St. Theodore the Recruit in Euchaita, back to Chonai, and finally to the church of St. John the Evangelist in Ephesos.⁵ His pilgrimage took in most of the major shrines of Asia Minor; it also illustrates some of the problems of the available evidence and raises the question of changing goals of pilgrimage between late antiquity and the Middle Ages. Relatively abundant sources corroborate the importance of Ephesos, Chonai, and Euchaita as major goals of Byzantine pilgrimage. Euchania and Caesarea, however, are hardly ever mentioned, while Lazaros failed to visit three other places which clearly attracted large numbers of pilgrims: Myra, Nicaea, and Mount Olympos in Mysia.⁶

In terms of sacred capital—churches, tombs, relics, and sites of miracles—Ephesos was by far the richest place in Asia Minor and one of the greatest goals of pilgrimage in the empire. As one of the major Aegean ports, standing at the end of highways into the interior and across Asia Minor, it was in a convenient location to attract local, long-distance, and international visitors. Consequently, its pilgrims included royalty, officials, saints, and many foreigners. They came in a constant stream through the Byzantine period and into the fifteenth century.⁷ The city contained one of the most holy sites of Christendom, the church and tomb of St. John the Evangelist, so important that the medieval town was usually known simply as *Theologos*, the title of the Evangelist. The church was the scene of an annual miracle which will be described below. Second in fame was the tomb of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesos whose miraculous awakening took place in the fifth century; they even found their way into the Koran.⁸ In addition, there were the tombs of Mary Magdalene, St. Timothy, and St. Hermione, daughter of the apostle Philip. Local relics included the

⁴ The following discussion operates within certain geographical limits: it includes Asia Minor west of the Taurus and Antitaurus—thus excluding Armenia, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia (though these are within the boundaries of modern Turkey), and does not discuss pilgrimage to Trebizond or Mt. Galesion, the subjects of articles in this volume by J. O. Rosenqvist and R. Greenfield.

⁵ Text in *AASS Nov.* 3:511, 518f. Neither St. Lazaros nor his monastic foundation and the pilgrims who frequented it will be discussed here, since they have been treated in full detail by R. Greenfield: see above, note 2.

⁶ Nor did he visit the shrine of St. Eugenios in Trebizond, whose widely famed cult attracted pilgrims from the 9th through the 14th century; it is discussed by J. O. Rosenqvist, in his article in this volume.

⁷ See C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1979), 119, 125–28, and below for some of the individual pilgrims.

⁸ For the Islamic tradition, see below, 140ff.

red stone on which Joseph of Arimathea had washed the body of Christ (it was transported to Constantinople by Leo VI), a piece of the true Cross which St. John had worn round his neck, a shirt that St. Mary had made for St. John, and John's manuscript copy of the Apocalypse. The last three were still present when the Turks took the city in the early fourteenth century. On the mountain outside the city were the monasteries where St. Lazaros stood on a pillar in the eleventh century, attracting pilgrims from far and near.⁹

Most of the other sites were associated with only one holy figure. At Chonai, the Archangel Michael had performed an impressive miracle that transformed the landscape. A magnificent church, described on the occasion of a Turkish attack in 1070, burned in another in 1189, attracted visitors from the ninth through the thirteenth century. The icon it contained was the object of a pilgrim's veneration.¹⁰ Those who traveled long distances to visit Chonai included an emperor, Manuel I, who came here on the eve of the fatal battle of Myriokephalon in 1176, holy men on long peregrinations who became saints, and a young man from Paphlagonia. The fame of the church redounded to the town which became an archbishopric around 860 and a metropolitanate a century later.¹¹

Euchaita was the home of a martyr of the Great Persecution, St. Theodore the Recruit, who had killed a dragon there. His church, already famed in the fifth century, survived the attacks of Persians and Arabs. It contained a miraculous image of the saint, while another stood on the city gate.¹² St. Lazaros made his pilgrimage here on the way back from the Holy Land, as did a Georgian saint, George Hagiorites in 1059.¹³ In the seventh century, Euchaita still had the body of the saint, but it (or another like it) eventually wound up in the similarly named town of Euchaina (or Euchania, also in Pontos) where the rival cult of St. Theodore the General grew up in the Middle Ages.¹⁴ This Theodore became so famous that John Tzimiskes dedicated a great church here in 971 to celebrate his victory over the Russians on the spot where he had received the saint's aid. This, too, became a goal of pilgrimage, but is only mentioned as such in the account of St. Lazaros. Euchania, then, represents typical Byzantine phenomena: a new cult of dubious origins, and a place of real importance that simply happens not to appear in the existing sources.

Similarly, the ancient shrine of St. Basil in Caesarea is nowhere else mentioned as a medieval pilgrimage goal,¹⁵ yet it had a church whose rich decor was described on the occasion of its devastation in 1070. It had stood, as part of a complex built by Basil, since the

⁹ See above, note 4.

¹⁰ *Vita of Cyril Phileotes*, ed. E. Sargologos, *Vie de s. Cyrille le Philéote* (Brussels, 1964), chap. 18.

¹¹ See K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, TIB 7 (Vienna, 1990), 222–25 with full references.

¹² For the saint and his miracles, see *Vita, educatio et miracula S. Theodori*, AASS Nov. 4:49–55, dated to the 8th century by C. Zuckerman, "The Reign of Constantine V in the Miracles of St. Theodore the Recruit," *REB* 46 (1988): 191–210. For the cult and its celebrations, see also the works of the 11th-century metropolitan John Mauropus, ed. P. de Lagarde, *Iohannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice Vaticano graeco 676 supersunt* (Göttingen, 1882). Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 376 discusses the late antique cult.

¹³ George Hagiorites: F. Peeters, "Histoires monachiques géorgiennes," *AB* 36/37 (1917–19), 121f.

¹⁴ The cults of identically named saints in similarly named towns have been the source of much confusion. N. Oikonomides, "Le dédoublement de Saint Théodore et les villes d'Euchaita et d'Euchaneia," *AB* 104 (1986): 327–35, clears it away as far as possible. See also I. Hutter, "Theodorupolis," in *Aetos: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango* (Stuttgart, 1998), 181–90.

¹⁵ A Georgian monk, St. George the Hagiorite, went to Caesarea on his way to Euchaita in 1059, most probably to pray at this church, but the source gives no indication of his specific goal or motive: Peeters, "Histoires monachiques," 121.

fourth century.¹⁶ The fame of Myra also was based on one saint, St. Nicholas, a renowned miracle worker who attracted pilgrims from home and abroad in all periods. They included pilgrims from England and Russia, a priest from Mytilene who regularly attended the saint's festival, and many locals. Nicholas's church, probably a work of Justinian reconstructed in the ninth century after an Arab attack, was further rebuilt under the patronage of Constantine X in 1042. Although it soon lost its major treasure—freebooters from Bari carried off the saint's body in 1087—pilgrims kept on coming.¹⁷ All these shrines, except Chonai, featured the body of one or more saints.

Nicaea and Mount Olympos were different cases. The First Ecumenical Council of 325 gave eternal glory to Nicaea, which boasted of the Church of the Fathers where it was supposedly held. Pilgrims from the West came to see it, while the shrines of Sts. Tryphon, Neophytos, and Diomedes were of more local interest. Later, however, St. Tryphon became the patron of the city, with the most celebrated cult. The miracle that took place at his shrine was important enough to justify an encomium by an emperor, Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58), while Tryphon's church received a new miracle-working saint, John the Merciful the Younger, in the late thirteenth century.¹⁸ Mount Olympos, convenient for access from the capital, gained its fame as a monastic center, a base for resistance to the iconoclasm of the early ninth century. Its brief moment of fame came from living holy men and from the miracles that some of them wrought after their death. Although renowned during the ninth and early tenth centuries, it hardly appears in later years.¹⁹ Unlike the others, it derived its fame not from great churches but from a group of individual holy men.

These eight sites—Ephesos, Chonai, Euchaita, Nicaea, Myra, Mount Olympos, Euanchania and Caesarea—appear to have been the most important in medieval Asia Minor, possessing renowned spiritual capital that drew people, many of high rank, from long distances. They contained famed churches that often attracted imperial patronage. Beside them were a host of minor sites, primarily of local interest. At least they so appear in the haphazard survival of the sources that describe them, sometimes only in a few phrases. They seem rarely to have attracted pilgrims from long distances or people of more than local importance, but, as will be seen, they may represent only a part of a picture whose details can never be completely reconstructed. The following discussion includes only places where a specific miracle or cure is attested (or where closely contemporary sources mention miracles or cures, even vaguely) and where the sources give concrete reason to believe that pilgrims came, if only from a short distance.²⁰ Most of them are in easy reach of Con-

¹⁶ Church described: *Michaelis Attaliotae Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1858), 94; its possible remains: M. Restle, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens* (Vienna, 1979), 44f; earlier references: F. Hild and M. Restle, *Kappadokien*, *TIB* 2 (Vienna, 1981), 193–96. In late antiquity, the major local cult was that of St. Mamas, which does not appear in medieval sources: for that and other local saints, see Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 371f.

¹⁷ See C. Foss, "The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age," *DOP* 48 (1994): 24, 30f, 34f, with further references.

¹⁸ See C. Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and Its Praises* (Brookline, Mass., 1996), 6f. (martyrs), 97–120 (churches and cults).

¹⁹ Comprehensively discussed in R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975), 126–91.

²⁰ In most cases, the cults cannot be closely dated; the texts that report them (usually *AASS* or *Synaxarium CP*) are often of the 10th–11th centuries.

stantinople by land or sea, or along the Black Sea coast.²¹ Such a geographic distribution may reflect the nature of the sources, written primarily in the capital and therefore reflecting information available there, rather than purely local data which might reveal more obscure or remote shrines.²² All these shrines are very poorly attested; little is known beyond the bare fact of their existence and general activities.

Nikomedes had three of the several active shrines in Bithynia. The churches of Sts. Pantaleemon, Kosmas and Damianos (where a famous 9th-century bishop Theophylaktos was buried), and Diomedes are attested by local or roughly contemporary sources as sites of healing; in the case of St. Pantaleemon, large numbers of people came from the city bearing offerings (the church lay outside the walls).²³ At the famous hot springs of Pythia Therma, Sts. Menodora, Metrodora, and Nymphodora succeeded the ancient nymphs in working cures at their church.²⁴ The monastery of Medikion on the Sea of Marmara contained the bodies of its founder, St. Nikephoros (d. 813) and his successor, Niketas (d. 824). Their nearly contemporary biographies vaguely describe them as having a yearly cult and working cures.²⁵ Further west on the sea, in Mysia, the ancient city of Kyzikos contained the church of St. Tryphaena, built on the spot where she was martyred; it featured a miraculous spring frequented by women. The tomb of St. Rufus and eight other martyrs of the Great Persecution in the same city also offered cures.²⁶ The island of Aphousia in the Marmara, a common place of exile for iconodule monks, contained the tomb of St. Makarios of Pelekete, which was reputed to effect cures.²⁷

The church of St. Michael in Katesia near Daphnousia on the Black Sea coast of Bithynia was built by the patrician Niketas, who attained sainthood after his death in 836. His tomb produced a miraculous oil that was much in demand by locals and travelers. In Daphnousia itself, the church of Sts. Photios and Aniketos had an annual celebration of its saints and provided cures.²⁸ In the interior, the shrine of St. Eleutherios in Tarsos, on the main highway that led east from Nikomedes, worked cures and miracles.²⁹

²¹ I have excluded from this discussion sites in the immediate vicinity of Constantinople, including the Bosphorus, Chalcedon, the Princes' Isles, and Bithynia as far as Cape Akritas; for them, see Janin, *Grands centres*, 5–76.

²² The chance survival of the miracles of St. George reveals several unknown shrines in Paphlagonia which will appear in the following narrative. The texts are published in *Miracula S. Georgii*, ed. J. B. Aufhauser (Leipzig, 1913); cf. the translation and commentary of A.-J. Festugière, *Sainte Thécle, Saints Côme et Damien, Saints Cyr et Jean, S. Georges* (Paris, 1971), 259–334.

²³ Pantaleemon: *Laudatio*, ed. B. Latyshev, "Hagiographica graeca inedita," *MASP* 8th ser., 12. 2 (1914): 65–75; for Kosmas and Damianos, see the *vita* of Theophylaktos of Nikomedes by Theophylaktos, ed. A. Vogt, *AB* 50 (1932): 71–82; Diomedes: L. Westerink, "Trois textes inédits sur S. Diomède de Nicée," *AB* 84 (1966): 161–227.

²⁴ See the references in Janin, *Grands centres*, 98.

²⁵ *Vita* of Nikephoros of Medikion, ed. F. Halkin, "La Vie de S. Nicéphore, fondateur de Médikion en Bithynie (d. 813)," *AB* 78 (1960): 401–25; *vita* of Niketas of Medikion, *AASS* Apr. 1:xxviii–xxvii (at end of volume).

²⁶ For Tryphaina see *Synaxarium CP* 436 and *passio*, ed. C. Nikas in *RSB* 6/7 (1969–70): 160–64; for Rufus see his *passio*, ed. W. Lackner, in *JÖB* 22 (1973): 45–48.

²⁷ *Vita* of Makarios of Pelekete, ed. I. van den Gheyn in *AB* 16 (1897): 142–63.

²⁸ *Vita* of Niketas the Patrician, ed. D. Papachryssanthou, *TM* 3 (1968): 327, 337, 349; for Daphnousia, see epitome of *passio* of Photios, Aniketos, et al., in *AASS* Aug. 2:707–9. St. Photios had a church in Boanes, an unlocated place in Bithynia, where his relics drove away demons and worked cures: *passio* of Photios, Aniketos, et al., ed. B. Latyshev, "Hagiographica graeca inedita" (as above, note 23), 112f.

²⁹ *Passio* of St. Eleutherios, *AASS* Aug. 1:326f; for the site, see C. Foss, "Byzantine Malagina and the Lower Sangarius," *AnatSt* 40 (1990): 180–82.

Further east on the Black Sea, Amastris could boast the church of St. Hyacinth where a miraculous curative dust issued forth, while one of its villages, Potamou, contained a shrine of St. George, the scene of a tenth-century miracle that will be discussed below. Another Paphlagonian village, Phatrynon, contained another church of St. George renowned for its miracles.³⁰ The great Black Sea port of Trebizond also had its share of shrines. Besides that of St. Eugenios (not discussed here), the monastery of St. Phokas worked miraculous cures that attracted important clients in the thirteenth century, thanks to the tomb of St. Athanasios the Wonderworker that it contained. The more famous church of St. Phokas at Kordyle, west of the city, featured an all-night service and *panegyris*. It was splendidly restored in 1361 and frequented into the fifteenth century.³¹

Few shrines are attested in other parts of Asia Minor. Of them the most important was the monastic settlement of Mount Latros, with the tomb of its pioneering monk St. Paul, where a miraculous oil worked cures, and the top of the mountain where a great stone offered a site to pray for rain. It was frequented mostly by locals, but the future patriarch Athanasios, then a monk, came to visit it around 1250.³² The most important city with a minor shrine was Pergamon, where the tomb of St. Antipas was still giving forth a curative oil in the tenth century.³³ Not far away on the coast was Atramyttium, where the miraculous oil that issued from the tomb of a local bishop, St. Athanasios, was working cures in the early fourteenth century.³⁴ The spectacular hot springs of Hierapolis in Phrygia were attributed to the prayers of St. Aberkios who was buried there under a stone miraculously transported from Rome.³⁵ This site is at a main road junction; north of it, on another cross-country road, was the crossing of the Asteles River where St. Therapon was viciously beaten. The tree that grew from his blood worked miraculous cures.³⁶ Not far away is Synaos where St. Agapetos was constantly working miracles in the time of Arab attacks.³⁷

Finally, four sites were situated on the great highways leading from the capital to the eastern frontier. Most unusual, perhaps, was the shrine of St. Michael at the river crossing of Sykeon in Galatia, where the archangel worked miracles through the cross that had accompanied the emperor Herakleios on his campaigns.³⁸ In Ikonion, the long-lived cult of St. Amphilochios effected cures well into the Turkish period.³⁹ The church of St. Theodore

³⁰ For the church of St. Hyacinth, see *laudatio* of Hyacinth, *AASS* Jul. 4:230 or *PG* 105:438, and *Synaxarium CP* 827; for Potamou (an unlocated site), see Aufhauser, *Miracula S. Georgii*, 19; for Phatrynon (an unlocated site), see *ibid.*, 103.

³¹ For St. Athanasios of Trebizond, see his *Synaxarium*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *VizVrem* 12 (1906): 139–41; for St. Phokas, see C. van de Vorst, “S. Phocas,” *AB* 30 (1911): 279; cf. Janin, *Grands centres*, 293f. for his churches in Trebizond.

³² *Vita* of St. Paul of Latros, ed. H. Delehaye in *Der Latmos, Milet III.1*, ed. T. Wiegand (Berlin, 1913), chaps. 18 (stone) and 47 (oil); *vita* of Patriarch Athanasios of CP, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, “Zhitiia dvukh vse-lenskikh patriarkhov XIV v., svv. Afanasiia I i Isidora I,” *Zapiski istor.-filol. fakulteta imp. universiteta* 76 (St. Petersburg, 1905): 7–9.

³³ Text cited at *BHG* 138c, *Synaxarium CP* 598.

³⁴ *Laudatio* of Athanasios of Atramyttium, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra* (St. Petersburg, 1909), 141–47; oil: 145. My thanks to Alice-Mary Talbot for this reference.

³⁵ *Synaxarium CP* 153–55.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 711; for the location, see Belke, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, 194.

³⁷ *Vita* of Agapetos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra*, 128f.

³⁸ Attested only in the 11th century: Michael Psellos, *Oratio in archangelum Michaelem* in his *Orationes hagiographicae*, ed. E. Fisher (Stuttgart, 1994), 230–56. My thanks to an anonymous reader for this reference.

³⁹ Text cited at *BHG* 74; F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford, 1929), 2:364f.

in Amaseia featured a column that was working miracles in the eleventh century, while the memory of St. Blasios was celebrated in his church in Sebaste with lamps, hymns, and great festivities.⁴⁰

These shrines are mentioned with enough detail to indicate that they were functioning in the Byzantine period. There is another group, however, where the sources are so vague that there is no way to tell whether they are describing active shrines or simply employing formulaic language. These are cases where the source (usually the *vita* of a saint) makes the bare statement that cures (or miracles) are still being performed at the saint's church or tomb.⁴¹ Without further information, it seems doubtful that these really indicate continuing activity, especially since the phrases in question may simply have been copied from an earlier manuscript. Other sources or sites present specific problems that illustrate the difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory appraisal of pilgrimage in this period. They particularly involve shrines that logically should have attracted pilgrims, but are not attested as goals, and cults which are difficult or impossible to date.

Sailors spread the cult of St. Phokas whose martyrium in Sinope attracted great crowds of pilgrims in the fifth century. The church is not mentioned in later sources, though the cult reappears at Trebizond in the tenth century and had a magnificent church near there in the fourteenth.⁴² Does this mean that the cult at Sinope ceased to function in the Middle Ages, or simply that the rare surviving sources do not mention it? In other words, it would be reasonable to suppose that Sinope remained a pilgrimage site, but there is no evidence for it. There are many cases of late antique cults that attracted pilgrims but are unattested in the Middle Ages.⁴³ In such cases as St. Thekla's monastery in Isauria, historical circumstances make survival unlikely; this region was constantly exposed to Arab attacks. But many others in more sheltered locations may well have continued to function.

Attestation poses a different kind of problem in the case of the festival of St. Konon in the Isaurian village of Bidana. People from the whole district and all Isauria joined a torch-light parade and brought offerings of cattle, sheep, and goats. As they marched, they shouted "There is one god of Konon; Konon's god has triumphed," as they had done since his martyrdom in the third century. This is one of the most vivid descriptions of pilgram-

⁴⁰ Theodore: Mauropous, ed. de Lagarde, 124; *passio* of Blasios, PG 116:830.

⁴¹ I have noted the following (the list, arranged by region, is certainly incomplete): *Bithynia*: monastery of Traianou, near the Sangarios (*Synaxarium CP* 727); the cell of St. Anthousa near Mantineon (*ibid.*, 848); *Cappadocia*: Caesarea: tombs of St. Merkourios and Eupsychios: *passio*, ed. S. Binon, *Documents grecs inédits relatifs à S. Mercure de Césarée* (Louvain, 1937), 39 and *BHG* 2130; Tyana: monastery of St. Orestes on a mountain 20 miles from the city: *passio* of Orestes, *AASS* Nov. 4:399; *Mysia*: Lampsakos: church of St. Parthenios: *vita* of St. Parthenios, PG 114:1365; *Paphlagonia*: Gangra: S. Ferri, "Il *bios* e il *martyrion* di Hypatius di Gangrai," *SBN* 3 (1931): 87, and text cited at *BHG* 759f.; *Phrygia*: body of St. Tryphon in a village near Apamea: *passio* of St. Tryphon, ed. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Hagiographica*, ST 19 (Rome, 1908), 73f.; *Pisidia*: Conana (for the name of the city, which appears in variant forms in the manuscripts, see *TIB* 7.311): tomb of St. Zosimos: *passio* of St. Zosimos, ed. B. Latyshev, *Menologii anonymi byzantini . . . quae supersunt* (St. Petersburg, 1912), 2:82; *Pontos*: villages of Amaseia: tombs of Sts. Eutropios and Kleonikos: *passio*, ed. H. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris, 1909), 213; Comana: church of St. Basiliskos: *passio brevior*, ed. W. Lüdtke in *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 35 (1914): 51; Heliopolis (?) near Euchaita: tomb and spring of St. Barbara: *passio*, ed. J. Viteau, *Passion des saints Ecaterine et Pierre d'Alexandrie, Barbara et Anysia* (Paris, 1897), 99.

⁴² See N. Oikonomides, "Ο ἄγιος Φωκᾶς ὁ Σινωπεύς," *Ἀρχ. Πλόvt.* 17 (1952): 184–219; cf. Janin, *Grands centres*, 293f.

⁴³ Compare the list of late antique cult sites in Maraval, *Lieux saints* with those discussed above.

age in any source.⁴⁴ The text, from a manuscript of the tenth century, recounts that the festival continues “up to the present day,” but when did the activities actually take place? The location of the cult seems rather to point to late antiquity when Isauria was densely populated and even very important, rather than to the early Middle Ages when it was a bitterly contested frontier area. Likewise, the chanted phrase *heis theos* has a definite late antique flavor. In this case, it seems most likely that the scribe simply copied an earlier text that may have had no relevance to his own day.

There are other cases where contemporary sources describe a shrine which should have been the center of cult and pilgrimage but make no mention of either. A prominent example is the tomb of St. George of Amastris, who died around 810.⁴⁵ He performed two quite striking miracles soon after his death. First, a great flood overwhelmed the whole city and even the church, but stopped just short of his tomb. More remarkably, when Russian invaders sacked Amastris and attempted to loot the saint’s tomb, they were miraculously paralyzed and immediately converted to Christianity. According to the saint’s contemporary biographer, the miracle was clear evidence of George’s connection with God. Yet he makes no mention of any cult, visitors, or pilgrimage, nor do other sources add anything. This is another case where it would be reasonable to presume that pilgrimage continued, but without sources in support.⁴⁶

Known pilgrimage sites include three major monastic centers, all on mountains: the Mysian Olympos, Mount Galesion near Ephesos, and Mount Latros (the ancient Latmos), in the vicinity of Miletos. The first two of these, easily accessible from the capital or a major city, attracted a stream of visitors.⁴⁷ Yet it seems that monastic centers as such did not necessarily attract pilgrims. Most striking, because of its modern fame as a center of tourism, is the great complex of rock-cut churches in Cappadocia. They apparently produced no noteworthy local saints and were not the object of any pilgrimage that can be discovered.⁴⁸ Equally surprising is the absence of Mount Boratinon, better known by its modern name Bin Bir Kilise, “The Thousand and One Churches,” in Lykaonia near Laranda (modern Karaman). Two sites on this mountain contain some forty-eight churches, mostly late antique, but many of them rebuilt in the Middle Ages. Detailed publication of these sites, with their buildings and publications, provides no indication of pilgrimage.⁴⁹ It

⁴⁴ See F. Halkin, “Publications récentes de textes hagiographiques grecques,” *AB* 53 (1935): 369–74.

⁴⁵ *Vita of George of Amastris*, ed. V. Vasilievskii, *Russko-vizantiiskiia izsledovaniia* (St. Petersburg, 1893), 66ff; for the Russian attack, see most recently M. Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium* (London, 1996), 254f.

⁴⁶ There are many aspects of this subject that reach beyond the confines of the present discussion. One of the most important is propaganda: how far do the saints’ lives represent an actual or a desired situation, and how much of them consists of advertisement for particular shrines? Prof. Paul Speck (to whom I am indebted for his comments on this paper) suggests that the life of St. George may have been intended to inaugurate a cult, but simply failed; hence the lack of attested miracles. I would be more inclined to subscribe to this notion if other sources about the site had survived. In any case, this aspect deserves further study.

⁴⁷ For the phenomenon of monasteries on mountains, see A.-M. Talbot, “Les saintes montagnes à Byzance,” in *Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en occident*, ed. M. Kaplan (Paris, 2001), 263–75.

⁴⁸ S. Kostof, *Caves of God* (New York, 1989) makes no mention of pilgrimage, while L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge, 1985), 253f. considers pilgrimage to these churches but gives no evidence for it.

⁴⁹ See W. M. Ramsay and G. Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches* (London, 1909) and the detailed analysis of K. Belke, *Galatien und Lykaonien*, *TIB* 4 (Vienna, 1984), 138–43, 145–48.

would seem that some monks were considered more holy or as offering more efficacious prayers (or were more conveniently located) than others.

Most of the sites that pilgrims visited were already ancient, but the Byzantine Middle Ages added substantially to Anatolia's stock of sacred sites. Of the eight major sites, Ephesos alone could claim a sanctity that went back to apostolic times. Two cults could trace their origins to the Great Persecutions (Euchaita, Myra) and two more to the fourth century (Nicaea, Caesarea), but Chonai, Euchania, and Mount Olympos were Byzantine phenomena. Although the Archangel is supposed to have worked his miracle at Chonai in apostolic times, the legend seems to have developed only in late antiquity, and the cult itself, with attendant pilgrimage, is apparently a phenomenon of the ninth century and later. The origins of Euchania are obscure, but it appears that the saint's body was discovered only in the ninth century, evidently as a rival to the more famous cult in Euchaita.⁵⁰ Both these were successful, with activity continuing as long as Byzantium controlled the areas.

The time when the Mysian Olympos became a holy mountain is unknown, but clearly there was nothing substantial there before the eighth century, when it became a notorious center of resistance to Iconoclasm. In the ninth-century heyday of Mount Olympos, local holy men and cults attracted a large following, but there is hardly any text that discusses them later than their (usually contemporary) biographers. The most prominent local saints, to judge by their surviving *vita*e, were Joannikios (d. 846), Peter of Atroa (d. 837), and Eustratios of Augaros (d. 867). Their memories seem to have faded surprisingly quickly: Joannikios, greatly famed in his own day, has no posthumous miracles or cult, while the others cease to be mentioned a generation after their deaths. A lone text indicates that Eustratios's monastery survived into the fourteenth century, but nothing else is known about it. Yet Leo VI and Constantine VII made pilgrimages to the mountain in the tenth century, indicating that it remained a prime holy site and some of its monasteries survived until the Turkish conquest, if not longer.⁵¹ As a holy mountain, though, Olympos seems to have had a brief moment of glory.

Even shorter was the fame of a shrine in the theme of Charsianon. Its general Eudokimos, who had a reputation for sanctity, died and was buried there in the mid-ninth century. His body and the oil in the lamp that burned over it began to work miraculous cures and drive out demons. The saint's mother soon arrived and, with the help of a monk, opened the tomb to find the body perfectly preserved and giving off a sweet odor. She apparently thought this was too good for a remote village, so she and the monk absconded with the body at night (for the locals wanted to keep their sacred treasure) and took it to Constantinople. The shrine in Charsianon is never mentioned again.⁵²

On the other hand, the life of one shrine can be defined quite closely. The cult of the Archangel Michael at Sykeon in Galatia centered on a cross that Herakleios had taken on

⁵⁰ See the article of N. Oikonomides, cited above, note 14.

⁵¹ For the history and monasteries of Olympos, see Janin, *Grands centres*, 127–91 (which, however, embraces an area far wider than the mountain itself); cf. Talbot, "Les saintes montagnes" (as above, note 47); emperors' visit: *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 463.

⁵² Epitome of *vita* of St. Eudokimos, ed. Latyshev, *Menologii anonymi byzantini*, 2:230–32; the name of the site is not mentioned. The sweet-smelling, perfectly preserved body is a commonplace of these stories, part of the miracle that identified a saint: see Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 189.

his campaigns against Persia. Established here in 628, it was still working miracles in the late eleventh century when Michael Psellos described the cult.⁵³ Far less can be said of the other minor sites, but they seem to follow a similar pattern: many of them seem to have functioned continuously since the Great Persecutions, while a few clearly began in the Byzantine age. Among the latter are the cults of the victims of Iconoclasm, Nikephoros and Niketas of Medikion, Makarios of Pelekete, Theophylaktos of Nikomedieia, and the patrician Niketas. Like the cults of Mount Olympos, these appear from surviving sources to have had short lives. Yet, here too, lack of sources may not mean lack of a cult. On the other hand, Mount Latros, which started to attract monks in the seventh or eighth century and came into prominence only in the tenth, was still an active monastic center, worth visiting, in the thirteenth.⁵⁴

The ninth-century Olympian saint, Peter of Atroa, set out on a pilgrimage to Ephesos and Chonai because he considered holy shrines to be the dwellings of God.⁵⁵ To experience the presence or see the manifestation of the divine was the essential reason for pilgrimage. Sites achieved holiness by association with apostles or saints, but especially because of miracles that took place there. The miracles took many forms, but were most often associated with healing or with attestation of the divine power. People visited them to see—and thus to confirm their faith—to pray, and most commonly to find cures for their ailments. Examination of the attractions that pilgrimage sites offered will reveal a great variety and reflect the motivation of the pilgrims.

A kind of pious tourism brought long-distance travelers to many sites. The richest was Ephesos which offered monuments and sites associated with figures close to Christ—St. John the Evangelist (whom many identified with the apostle John), St. Timothy the Apostle, and St. Mary Magdalene—as well as the scene of the later miracle of the Seven Sleepers. The eighth-century pilgrim Willibald prayed in the church of St. John and visited the tombs of Mary Magdalene and the Seven Sleepers, as well as the top of the mountain where St. John had been wont to pray and still kept free of storm and rain.⁵⁶ By the twelfth century, sites and relics seem to have multiplied, for the Russian pilgrim Daniel could see not only the tombs of St. John, Mary Magdalene, and the Seven Sleepers, but also the Magdalene's head and the body of St. Timothy, as well as an image of the Virgin that had been used to defeat the heretic Nestorius. He also visited sites associated with the life of St. John.⁵⁷ Spurious or genuine, the relics and sites offered inspiration. This kind of pilgrimage was common and long outlasted the Byzantine period, as shown by graffiti at Ephesos. Latins were coming to the tomb of the Seven Sleepers well into the fifteenth century and leaving there names with a simple “hic fuit.”⁵⁸

The fame of such sites as Ephesos, Euchaita, or Myra outweighed the attraction of in-

⁵³ See above, note 38 and E. Fisher, “Nicomedia or Galatia? Where Was Psellos’ Church of the Archangel Michael?” in *Gonimos: Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerink*, ed. J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (Buffalo, N.Y., 1988), 175–87.

⁵⁴ See Janin, *Grands centres*, 217–40. The future patriarch Athanasios made a pilgrimage here around 1250 on his way back from the Holy Land: see note 32 above.

⁵⁵ *La vie merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa* († 837), ed. V. Laurent (Paris, 1956), chap. 13, p. 101.

⁵⁶ Willibald, *Itinerarium*, in T. Tobler, ed., *Descriptiones terrae sanctae* (Leipzig, 1874), 60.

⁵⁷ See *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel to the Holy Land*, ed. Col. Sir C. Wilson, Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society 6 (London, 1895), 5f.

⁵⁸ F. Miltner, *Das Cömeterium der Sieben Schläfer* [= *Forschungen in Ephesos* 4.2] (Vienna, 1937), 201–11.

dividual relics, even of the bodies of the saints celebrated there. Pilgrims continued to visit Euchaita, even from long distances, though St. Theodore's body is not mentioned after the eighth century, and appears to have been moved to Euchania. The fate of St. Nicholas is better attested: his body was stolen by Italians and shipped off to Bari in 1087. Yet in both instances, pilgrims continued to frequent the churches. The case of Ephesos, which could afford to lose a few relics, is instructive in a different way. The relics of St. Timothy were taken to Constantinople by the sixth century, and Leo VI removed the bones of Mary Magdalene. But somehow, there were bones of both saints present in Ephesos to be admired in the twelfth century.⁵⁹

Other places provided sacred attractions of different kinds. At Euchaita, it was possible to see the cave (conveniently located under the church) where St. Theodore had slain the dragon, as well as the very image for which he had posed.⁶⁰ Nicaea offered the church of the First Council, with an image of the Fathers who attended it, while Amaseia had the column where St. Theodore had been tied.⁶¹ As in the case of Ephesos, some of these sites were dubious, to say the least. The First Council, for example, met in Constantine's palace (whose site had long been lost), not a church; in fact, it seems likely that the church "of the Fathers" that Willibald visited in the eighth century was not even the same one that delegates from Rome saw in the thirteenth. But authenticity was not a factor in establishing holiness.

In some cases, natural objects witnessed the divine power. Chonai was renowned as the place where St. Michael had cleft a mountain to divert a river and created a healing spring. This and the spectacular hot springs of Hierapolis, attributed to the prayers of St. Aberkios, were perhaps the most grandiose of all these sites. Springs, which have always had curative powers, were often associated with saints and taken as signs of their powers: in Bithynia, the famed Pythia Therma had a church of their patronesses Menodora, Nymphodora, and Metrodora, who took over the role of the ancient nymphs; St. Barbara's cult in Pontos was associated with a bath, while the spring that flowed from the blood of St. Tryphaena in Kyzikos offered specialized cures.

Some holy sites were on a smaller scale. Near Kybistra, a palm tree symbolized an obscure St. Paul who lived in a well where cures were effected after his death. An oak tree on the Asteles River in Phrygia that grew from the blood of St. Therapon bloomed continuously and cured all diseases. Local peasants praying for rain frequented a huge rock on the top of Mount Latros, called *hagios lithos*. Its origins were uncertain: some said it was one of the twelve stones that Joshua ordered moved from the Jordan, but the hagiographer preferred to believe that its fame rested on a miracle of a shepherd being cured there of an eye problem. Next to it was a sacred spring that had gushed forth in answer to the prayers of a monk.⁶²

Evidence of miracles could be quite humble. In 917, Byzantium made a massive assault on Bulgaria. Soldiers were called up from all regions, including Paphlagonia, where

⁵⁹ Euchaita: see Zuckerman, "Reign of Constantine V"; Myra: Foss, "Lycian Shore," 35f.; Ephesos: Foss, *Ephesus*, 33, 84, 125, 127f.

⁶⁰ Cave: Mauropous, ed. de Lagarde, 123; image: *Mirac.* 1, with the discussion of Zuckerman, "Reign of Constantine V," 201f.

⁶¹ Nicaea: see Foss, *Nicaea*, 110–14. Amaseia: Mauropous, ed. de Lagarde, 124.

⁶² Wiegand, *Der Latmos* [= *Milet* 3.1], 116.

a certain officer named Leon lived in a village near Amastris. Since he was already well on in years, he sent his son George in his place. George duly participated in the great battle where the imperial forces were routed. Many were killed, but he was captured and forced into slavery to one of the barbarian chiefs. When the news reached his home, his parents were plunged in misery, while George could only long for his home. Finally, on the feast day of St. George (for whom the young man had been named), when everyone was gathered at their houses for a banquet, George and his mother, though far apart, both prayed to St. George for deliverance. At the very moment his parents were feasting, George was carrying a jug of hot water as part of his duties. Suddenly, St. George appeared, carried him off, and set him down in front of his home, jug in hand. His grateful parents dedicated the jug in the church as a witness to the miracle. People came from the whole region to see it and praise God as they witnessed sure evidence of a miracle.⁶³ The humble cooking pot (*koukoummion*), in other words, became the object of pilgrimage.

In one case at least, the venerated deceased did not even have to be a saint to work miracles. When the ephemeral emperor Theodosios III (715–717) was deposed, he was exiled to Ephesos, where he became an embellisher of manuscripts. He lived a life of piety and was eventually buried in the church of St. Philip where some of the locals claimed that his body worked miracles.⁶⁴

The greatest goals of pilgrims involved miracles. Caves, trees, rocks, and springs all were witnesses of miracles in the distant past, but many sites also offered continuous miracles, repeated annually, that attested to their sanctity and to the active presence of the divine. Most often, these took the form of a miraculous dust or oil that had curative powers. The most famous of all took place at Ephesos.

Every year for almost a thousand years, on the 8th of May during the all-night festal service in honor of St. John, a miraculous dust called manna issued forth from his tomb under the high altar in the cathedral. It was explained by the words of John's Gospel: "Jesus saith unto him: If I will that he [John] tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me. Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die; yet Jesus said not unto him, he shall not die, but if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee."⁶⁵ Literal-minded Christians from the earliest time took this to mean (despite Christ's specific explanation) that St. John was not dead, but sleeping. Since he was asleep, he was breathing, and his breath naturally stirred the dust under the altar. St. Augustine already heard of this story and could not dismiss it outright. In the sixth century, Gregory of Tours in the far West knew of it and explained that the dust was called manna, had the property of curing the sick, and was transported through the world.⁶⁶ These aspects—the miracle, the dust, the cure, and the distribution—were the features of the greatest miracle a pilgrim could see in medieval Byzantium.

⁶³ Aufhauser, *Miracula S. Georgii*, 18–44; AASS Apr. 3:xxxii adds the detail about pilgrims coming to see the jug.

⁶⁴ Georgius Cedrenus, ed. I. Bekker, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1838), 787f; cf. *Origo Civitatum Italie sive Venetiarum*, ed. R. Cessi (Rome, 1933), 109, which adds the detail that the church was in the old city, near the harbor. For this emperor, see C. Mango and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History. A.D. 284–813* (Oxford, 1997), 537.

⁶⁵ John 21:22f.

⁶⁶ See Foss, *Ephesus*, 36 for the late antique cult, as well as the ampullae discussed by Duncan-Flowers, "A Pilgrim's Ampulla."

The Anglo-Saxon Willibald, later a bishop and a saint, was the first of many recorded medieval pilgrims to Ephesos, which he visited around 724. Like a host of later visitors, he marveled at the manna that bubbled up from the tomb. The calendar of the orthodox church, the *Synaxarion*, probably a work of the tenth century, explained that God not only blessed his apostles, martyrs, and saints, but made the places where they lived or were buried brilliant with many miracles. By the blessing of the Holy Ghost, the tomb of St. John brought forth a holy dust, which the locals called manna, suddenly every year on 8 May. It was distributed to the people who used it to ward off and cure diseases as they blessed God and St. John. Symeon Metaphrastes, writing in the tenth century, likened the brilliance of the crowded festival to that of the stars, and added that the fine dust that cured all ills sprang forth and was distributed to the vast crowd. No matter how much was needed, more always poured out. For the unhappy metropolitan George Tornikes (1155–56), the tomb with its inexhaustible dust was his sole consolation for having to live in what he considered a barbarous place with a dilapidated church.⁶⁷

The most elaborate description of the miracle dates from the very end of the Byzantine period, written by the Catalan Muntaner who arrived in a mercenary force in 1304:

On Saint Stephen's day, every year, at the hour of vespers, there comes out of the tomb (which is four-cornered and stands at the foot of the altar and has a beautiful marble slab on the top, full twelve palms long and five broad) and in the middle of the slab there are nine very small holes, and out of these holes, as vespers are being sung on St. Stephen's day (on which day the vespers are of St. John), manna like sand comes out of each hole and rises a full palm high from the slab, as a jet of water rises up. And this manna issues out . . . and it lasts all night and then all Saint John's day until sunset. There is so much of this manna, by the time the sun has set and it has ceased to issue out, that, altogether, there are of it full three cuarteras of Barcelona. And this manna is marvelously good for many things; for instance he who drinks it when he feels fever coming on will never have fever again. Also, if a lady is in travail and cannot bring forth, if she drinks it with water or with wine, she will be delivered at once. And again, if there is a storm at sea and some of the manna is thrown in the sea three times in the name of the holy Trinity and Our Lady Saint Mary and the Blessed Saint John the Evangelist, at once the storm ceases. And again, he who suffers from gall stones, and drinks it in the said names, recovers at once. And some of this manna is given to all pilgrims who come there; but it only appears once a year.⁶⁸

Visible, tangible proof of a saint's power was a prime attraction for pilgrims; so was the reward they received on the spot in the form of a panacea, in this case the miraculous dust that not only cured diseases, general and specific, but could even calm the storm. Ephesos was by far the most famous source of manna, but it was not alone. Another site offered a similar attraction, perhaps in direct imitation of the Evangelist. The martyr St. Hyacinth was buried beneath the church dedicated to him in Amastris on the coast of the Black Sea. Here, too, a miraculous health-giving dust issued forth every year on the saint's day, 18 July. It came from the depths with a roar, and in such quantities that the lamps were extinguished. The bishop gathered a mass of it and distributed it to the people for the care and cure of their souls and bodies. On one recent occasion, reports a source of the tenth

⁶⁷ Willibald, *Itinerarium*, 60; *Synaxarium* CP 665; PG 116:705; Georges et Démétrios Tornikès, *Lettres et discours*, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1970), 154, cf. Foss, *Ephesus*, 135f.

⁶⁸ *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, trans. Lady Goodenough, Hakluyt Society, Series 2, 50 (London, 1921), chap. 206.

century, a perfectly preserved finger of the saint came out with the dust, reassuring the people that he was really there and offering his blessings.⁶⁹ Apparently, there could never be too much tangible evidence.

The annual miracle took a very different form in Nicaea. That city was the scene of the martyrdom of St. Tryphon, a victim of the persecutions of Decius (249–251). The saint was actually buried in his home village in Phrygia, but his presence was manifested in his church in Nicaea every February 1st. On that day, at the morning service, while hymns were being sung in the saint's honor, a vast crowd witnessed the miracle: dried lily bulbs put in the martyr's lamp suddenly bloomed out of season amid the frosts of winter.⁷⁰ A thirteenth-century emperor, Theodore II Laskaris, described the miracle, the accompanying festival, and the great crowds of people who came to receive the blessings of the saint and experience his power to drive away demons and cure ills. Tryphon was the patron saint of the empire in exile, and his image and lily appeared on its coins. His miracle was the great attraction of its capital, Nicaea.

Miracles often had a practical aspect: the dust of Ephesos and the spiritual presence of St. Tryphon had the power to cure disease. In fact, seeking medical help was always a major factor in pilgrimage, especially pilgrimage to local shrines and holy men. In most cases, cures were effected by an oil that appeared miraculously or by the presence of the saint's body. The case of St. Nicholas in Myra is exemplary.⁷¹ Here, too, great crowds gathered on the saint's day, 8 December. They came especially to collect the oil, called *myron*, that gushed forth from his tomb. This sweet-smelling oil, credited with the power of preventing and curing all kinds of diseases, was eagerly collected and carried off for future or distant use. Myra, whose very name proclaimed association with the *myron*, seems to have been the prototype for a great range of cults that involved curative oil, which could work its wonders on the spot or far away.

The tomb of Niketas the Patrician in Katesia near Daphnousia on the Black Sea in Bithynia from time to time exuded a perfumed oil that cured blindness and scrofula and worked as a panacea for those who gathered it. Sailors regularly stopped here on their way from Constantinople to Cherson to collect a jug of it. On one occasion, they discovered an unexpected benefit when they were caught in a storm and providentially poured the oil on the seas which immediately calmed.⁷² *Myron*, like manna, had many uses.

Mount Olympos was especially renowned for its miraculous cures by oil. The tomb of St. Peter of Atroa exuded a perfumed oil, but only from time to time (apparently on the saint's day) rather than continuously. On one occasion, it poured out during the service on the saint's day and the congregation rushed up to anoint their faces with the oil. This oil had miraculous powers, curing a great variety of diseases either on the spot or far away wherever it had been taken. It even repaired the broken horn of a cow.⁷³ But the oil was not always available. Fortunately, pilgrims did not have to wait for its miraculous appearance, but could exploit a handy supply of oil that burned in the lamp over the saint's tomb.

⁶⁹ *Laudatio of St. Hyacinthus*, PG 105:417–40; cf. *Synaxarium CP* 828.

⁷⁰ See the text and discussions in Foss, *Nicaea*, 6, 105ff.

⁷¹ Texts and discussion in G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1917), 516–18.

⁷² *Vita of Niketas the Patrician*, ed. D. Papachryssanthou, *TM* 3 (1968): chap. 30.

⁷³ *La Vita Retractata et les Miracles Posthumes de Saint Pierre d'Atroa*, ed. V. Laurent (Brussels, 1958), chap. 98 (service), chap. 101 (cow).

This was equally effective whether applied externally or drunk. The tomb of St. Eustratios of Augaros worked similar miraculous cures by means of oil, mostly, it seems, the oil in the lamp. The nearby tomb of St. Constantine the converted Jew, in Atroa at the foot of Mount Olympos, also exuded *myron* which, along with the oil in the lamp, had curative powers.⁷⁴ Similarly, in Mount Latros cures were effected by the oil that burned in the lamp over the tomb of St. Paul the monk. It could be used to anoint people or cattle, with satisfactory results, even against leprosy.⁷⁵ The tombs of St. Antipas in Pergamon, St. Athanasios in Atramyttium, and St. Eleutherios in Tarsos in Bithynia also produced a curative *myron*, but no details are recorded.⁷⁶ So did the tomb of the obscure St. Philotheos of the Opsikion theme, which produced a “spring of ever-flowing *myron*” in a location nowhere stated.⁷⁷ The holy oil of St. Amphiliocios’s tomb in Ikonion is only mentioned in the Turkish period, when it was reputed to be an ancient phenomenon.⁷⁸ The fact that the saint was already effecting cures in the Byzantine period suggests that the oil had been continuously produced.

All these cases involve oil associated with the saint, whether from his tomb or lamp. But very often cures were worked by contact or association with a saint’s body, or sometimes by the appearance of the saint himself, usually in a dream. Direct contact could take a very concrete form: the withered hand of a nun was cured when she placed it inside the hand of St. Eustratios before his coffin had been closed.⁷⁹ Normally, people came to a shrine because they wanted the miracles worked by a known saint, but even anonymous saints could perform miracles. When the body of St. John the Merciful the Younger was brought to Nicaea in the late thirteenth century, no one knew who he was. Yet the body of the saint cured blindness, and so did the medallions of saints around his neck and the iron staff in his hand.⁸⁰

Cures could be effected by various other means. Prominent among them were hot springs, which have the advantage of possessing real curative value. A few have already been noted: the spring at Chonai, the hot springs of Hierapolis, and Pythia Therma. The latter two have been constantly renowned since antiquity and continue, as Pamukkale and Yalova Kaplıcaları, to attract throngs of visitors seeking improved health. Since they still function without the saints, it seems safe to presume that the cult of a saint was attached to an existing attraction. In both cases, the information about the saints in question is very vague or dubious. The spring of St. Tryphaena in Kyzikos offered a more specialized cure; its clear waters were extremely helpful for women (or even female animals) who did not produce enough milk.⁸¹ Likewise, certain trees associated with saints could somehow work cures, as could the holy stone on the top of Mount Latros.

⁷⁴ *Vita* of Eustratios, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας, vol. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1897), chaps. 54–61; *vita* of Constantine the Jew, *AASS* Nov. 4:653–55, chaps. 82–85.

⁷⁵ *Vita* of Paul of Latros, in Wiegand, *Der Latmos*, chap. 47.

⁷⁶ Antipas: *Synaxarium* CP 595; *laudatio* of Athanasios of Atramyttium, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra*, 145; *Passio* of Eleutherios, *AASS* Aug. 1:326.

⁷⁷ *Synaxarium* CP 48, a brief text that supplies all the essentials of the wordy speech of Eustathios of Thessalonike, ed. T. L. F. Tafel, *Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis opuscula* (Frankfurt, 1832), 145–51.

⁷⁸ See above, note 39.

⁷⁹ *Vita* of Eustratios, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta*, 4:397.

⁸⁰ Foss, *Nicaea*, 82.

⁸¹ *Synaxarium* CP 436.

Unique among wonder-working objects was the cross that Herakleios had taken on his Persian campaigns. When the emperor was returning to the capital in 628, he stopped at Sykeon, on the main highway to the East, and put the cross in the local church of the Virgin. When it came time to leave, the cross could not be budged. It then performed another miracle, as it and the whole church caught on fire. The fire, instead of consuming, purified, leaving cross and church intact. As a result, Herakleios built a shrine to the Archangel Michael on the spot, where the cross itself cured the sick and demented, saved the local bridge from a flood, and aided the emperor to put down a rebel. It was still working four hundred years later. By then, it and the archangel had replaced the local saint, Theodore, and appropriated aspects of his cult and legends.⁸²

Whether pilgrims came to see sacred sites, witness miracles, or seek cures, they all prayed. Long-distance pilgrims, about whom something is known, traveled in order to pray at sacred sites, but the subject of the prayers of the mass of anonymous pilgrims is rarely attested. Help and protection were certainly important desires, as the numerous graffiti at the tomb of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesos attest.⁸³ Protection on a grander scale was also a desire in many periods: saints could defend individuals and whole cities against attack. St. Amphilochios of Ikonion and St. Agapetos of Synaos in Phrygia were invoked for protection against the Arabs, as was St. John of Nicaea against the Turks.⁸⁴ St. Theodore of Euchaita saved his own body from the Persians and his city from the Arabs, just as St. George of Amastris caused paralysis to strike the Russians who were trying to desecrate his tomb.⁸⁵ When the prayers of the Fathers of the First Ecumenical Council saved Nicaea from Arab attack in 726, devotion to their church and image no doubt increased.⁸⁶ Some saints were described as the bulwarks of their cities, presumably reflecting special powers of defense and efficacy of prayer to them: among these are Sts. Neophytos of Nicaea, Diomedes of Nikomedea, Hypatios of Gangra, and Eleutherios of Tarsos. Prayers, of course, could be said at a distance, but people also came to shrines specifically to pray for defense or victory. Manuel Komnenos stopped at the church of St. Michael in Chonai before the battle of Myriokephalon in 1176, most probably to pray for victory. On the news of an Arab attack in 863, St. Anthony the Younger set out from Constantinople to pray in the church of St. John in Ephesos. He was especially concerned with the fate of his spiritual son, Petronas, who was commanding the imperial forces.⁸⁷

The prayers and blessings of living holy men were also good reasons for pilgrimage.⁸⁸ Toward the end of his life, the ailing emperor Constantine VII made the journey to Mount Olympos to ask the blessing of the fathers there. His father, Leo VI, had made the same pilgrimage.⁸⁹ Individual holy men of that mountain attracted a clientele for similar rea-

⁸² See E. Fisher, above, note 53.

⁸³ See above, note 58; this was the common subject of the Greek graffiti.

⁸⁴ On Amphilochios: text cited at *BHG* 74; *vita* of Agapetos, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra*, 129; for St. John of Nicaea, see Foss, *Nicaea*, 82.

⁸⁵ St. Nicholas had no such luck: see above, note 17.

⁸⁶ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1883), 406.

⁸⁷ On Manuel, see Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. L. van Dieten (Berlin–New York, 1975), 178; for St. Antony, see F. Halkin, “Saint Antoine le Jeune et Pétronas le vainqueur des Arabes en 863,” *AB* 62 (1944): 218, chap. 14.

⁸⁸ St. Lazaros of Mt. Galesion is a notable and well-attested example: see above, note 5.

⁸⁹ Theophanes *Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 463f.

sons. St. Joannikios received a stream of high churchmen and government officials (he seems to have specialized in the upper classes) who needed blessings or advice. He dealt with these matters more often than cures. His colleagues, St. Peter of Atroa and St. Eustratios of Augaros, however, attracted a humbler clientele who came for cures as well as blessings and advice.⁹⁰ Likewise, the mountain communities of Latros and Galesion were still attracting people who would travel long distances to visit the holy men who inhabited them as late as the thirteenth century.⁹¹ Nicaea was unusual in that the monks of one of its monasteries, the church of Hyacinth, had an international reputation that brought St. Constantine the converted Jew there from Cyprus in the ninth century. He carried with him a sacred relic, the hand of the blessed Palamon, which he deposited in the church.⁹²

Many cures, of course, were successful and many blessings efficacious. Hence gratitude was also a factor—though far less well attested than need—that brought people to shrines. Most of this no doubt was local and on a humble scale. In 753, a grateful Paphlagonian peasant brought a cow as an offering to St. Theodore during the spring festival. Since he arrived just at the time of an Arab attack, he found the church and the whole city surprisingly deserted. Not willing to leave without honoring the saint, he tied the cow to the chancel screen and went away.⁹³ On another occasion, a poor woman was saving a chicken for the saint when it was stolen, while a soldier returning victorious from the wars dedicated his sword.⁹⁴ Likewise, locals brought wagonloads of grain and offerings of sheep, meat, and wine to the shrine of St. Nicholas of Myra. One rich couple outdid their neighbors by offering 100 gold pieces every year.⁹⁵ Offerings also came in from long distances. Chonai was the goal of a young man named Manuel who was entrusted with the offerings of the village of Didia near Gangra in Paphlagonia, which amounted to a whole pound of gold. He came on foot and was almost murdered for his money. St. George rescued him, though, and the Archangel received the gold.⁹⁶

Money was closely involved with pilgrimage in another important way, for the great pilgrimage shrines were also the site of fairs which brought buyers and sellers from whole regions. The most important was probably that of Ephesos, held to coincide with the miracle of the manna. It generated a great deal of business, for the emperor Constantine VI, when he visited the church in 795, remitted the customs duty that the fair generated, a total of 100 pounds of gold according to the chronicler.⁹⁷ Euchaita and Myra appear also to have been the site of fairs, an important phenomenon that continued through the Byzantine period. In the late twelfth century, the fair at Chonai was attracting huge crowds from

⁹⁰ *Vita* of Joannikios by Sabas, *AASS* Nov. 2:1, *passim*; *vita* of Peter of Atroa, ed. V. Laurent (as in note 55 above), chaps. 49–62, 67–72, 74–79; *vita* of Eustratios, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, 4:383f.

⁹¹ For the visit of the patriarch Athanasios to Latros ca. 1250, see note 32 above; for his visit to Galesion, see *ibid.*, 9–10. On St. Meletios (d. 1286), who lived at Galesion in the 13th c., see his *vita*, ed. S. Lauriates, *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς* 5 (1921): 582–84, 609–24.

⁹² *AASS* Nov. 4:637; for the church, see Foss, *Nicaea*, 97–101.

⁹³ See above, note 12, *mirac.* 9, and Zuckerman's article for the proposed date.

⁹⁴ Texts in A. Sigalas, "Ἡ διασκευὴ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χρυσίππου παραδεδομένων θαυμάτων τοῦ ἀγίου Θεοδώρου," *Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ.* 1 (1924): 317, 328.

⁹⁵ Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, 1:286f.

⁹⁶ Aufhauser, *Miracula S. Georgii*, 107–13.

⁹⁷ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 469f; cf. the commentary of Mango and Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 645f., and the discussion of P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI.* (Munich, 1978), 260, according to whom the money went to the Evangelist's church.

all the neighboring cities and provinces and even from the “barbarian Ikonians”—the Seljuk Turks of Konya—who came to buy and sell.⁹⁸

Whether in great crowds or as individuals, locals and foreigners made their way as pilgrims to the great and lesser shrines. For the most part, their identity is unknown; only a few prominent individuals and foreigners stand out, but it is clear that masses of people were involved in pilgrimage in all periods. The greatest numbers frequented the most famous shrines, but even the humble and local attracted people. Most of them, at all times and in all shrines, were certainly local people, overwhelmingly peasants. In this respect, Asia Minor, with its large number of shrines of local interest, differed from the Holy Land where pilgrims were primarily monks. Travel there, of course, involved vast distances and amounts of time not normally available to the lay population.⁹⁹

The imperial family set the tone. Constantine VI and Maria, sister of Romanos III (1028–34), prayed at Ephesos; Leo VI, Constantine VII, and the in-laws of Nikephoros I (802–810) came to Mount Olympos; Manuel Komnenos prayed at Chonai, Theodore Laskaris at Nicaea.¹⁰⁰ The upwardly mobile St. Joannikios attracted a variety of generals, government and military officials, bishops, and abbots. They could consult him since he was conveniently located on Mount Olympos, easily accessible from the capital. Foreigners, some quite distinguished, also came to the shrines. In the thirteenth century, the wife of the Turkish emir of Sivas in central Anatolia was possessed by a demon. She sought help in Constantinople, where she was referred to the shrine of St. Phokas in Trebizon. A night spent next to the tomb of St. Athanasios in that church cured her.¹⁰¹ Other foreigners included the soldiers of the Second Crusade (1147) and the army of Catalan mercenaries (1304) who visited the church of St. John in Ephesos, but for them pilgrimage was only an incidental motive. Similarly, the Latins who left graffiti at the tomb of the Seven Sleepers were most probably merchants who happened to be in the city, as perhaps were the Armenians who actually maintained a priest at the tomb.¹⁰² The English pilgrim Saewulf, who prayed in Myra on his way to the Holy Land in 1102, was apparently a merchant, but most other foreign pilgrims were churchmen.¹⁰³ They included the Anglo-Saxon monk Willibald (723–724) who visited Nicaea and Ephesos, the Russian monk Daniel (1106) who enjoyed all the attractions of Ephesos as well as Myra, and the German priest Ludolf of Suchem (or Sudheim) who saw the church of Ephesos around 1336.¹⁰⁴

The Byzantine pilgrims whose lives and journeys are best known are inevitably saints,

⁹⁸ S. Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1879), 56; for the fairs in general, see S. Vryonis, “The Panegyris of the Byzantine Saint,” in S. Hackel, ed., *The Byzantine Saint* (London, 1981), 196–226.

⁹⁹ For the nature of pilgrims to the Holy Land, see Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 116–33.

¹⁰⁰ For Maria, see *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin, 1973), 408, and *Ioannes Zonaras: Epitome historiarum*, ed. M. Pinder and M. Büttner-Wobst, vol. 3 (Bonn, 1897), 594f. For the in-laws of Nikephoros I, see the *vita* of Joannikios by Peter, *AASS Nov. 2.1:391*, chap. 14; for the rest, see above, 127, 131, 136, 137.

¹⁰¹ Synaxarium for Athanasios of Trebizon, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VizVrem* 12 (1906): 141.

¹⁰² See above, note 58; the Armenian graffiti mention the “priest of the Seven Children” and date to 1354–1498.

¹⁰³ Saewulf in *Peregrinationes tres*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus christianorum continuatio medievalis* 139 (Turnhout, 1994), 61.

¹⁰⁴ Willibald and Daniel: see above, 131; Ludolf: J. P. A. van der Vin, *Travellers to Greece and Constantinople* (Istanbul, 1980), 30–37, 579–83.

the subject of substantial and often contemporary biographies.¹⁰⁵ They have been met already: Lazaros of Galesion, Constantine the Jew, Joannikios, Peter of Atroa, the Georgian George Hagiorites, and the thirteenth-century Athanasios and Meletios. Each of them traveled long distances to worship at one or more shrines, but they were not alone. St. Lazaros' biographer gives some details of the companions he met along the road. As he set out from Chonai for Jerusalem after the early morning liturgy, Lazaros met a Paphlagonian monk who was also headed for the Holy Land. They decided to join forces, but the Paphlagonian turned out to be a bad character, for when they arrived at the port of Attaleia, he tried to sell Lazaros to a ship captain. The saint was saved only by a miracle. The monk apparently was an Armenian (he addressed the captain in that language) and definitely a *kykleutes*, a vagabond monk attached to no monastery, but constantly wandering and living by his wits, usually at the expense of the local faithful. Lazaros witnessed the Paphlagonian's dishonest practices on the road: he would spend the day begging bread and whatever else he needed, then sell it all for a profit in the villages and markets. On his return from the Holy Land, Lazaros again visited Chonai. This time, he was accompanied by a band of *kykleutai* all the way from there to Ephesos. To judge by these incidents, vagabond monks were present in numbers on the roads and at the shrines. They were a recognized nuisance, regularly denounced by the church authorities from the time of Chalcedon till the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁶

On his first trip to Chonai, St. Lazaros also met a group of Cappadocian pilgrims who included a young woman who had been cheated of her money but was anxious to preserve her honor. They appear to have been laymen, not clerics, and as such probably represent the majority of pilgrims. Accounts of the shrines constantly mention the crowds who attended them, especially at festivals. In the early ninth century, the all-night festal service of St. Nicholas of Myra was attracting great numbers, most of them local people. Other shrines boasted an international audience. John Mauropous, describing the spring and summer festivals of St. Theodore of Euchaita in the eleventh century, mentions the huge crowds from all the world who filled the streets and marketplaces, attracted by the miracles and cures.¹⁰⁷ Likewise, the festival of Chonai in the thirteenth century was drawing people from the region, from all the neighboring provinces, and even from Turkish territory. This crowd seems to have been largely lay, including many merchants, since the celebrations were also the occasion for a fair. When St. Peter of Atroa visited Chonai in the early ninth century, he found crowds of people tormented by demons. The demons were especially anxious since they had advance warning of the saint's arrival and knew he would drive them out. He in fact cured the whole lot of demoniacs. The biographer does not state whether Peter was there for the festival, but the life of his contemporary St. Joannikios makes it clear that great shrines attracted great crowds at all times. When he arrived at Ephesos in August (not the season for the miracle or the saint's day), Joannikios found such a throng that he only got in the church after hours by a miracle.

¹⁰⁵ See the paper of M. Kaplan in the present volume.

¹⁰⁶ AASS Nov. 3:511, 518; for the wandering monks, see the useful summary of Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 116f, as well as E. Herman, "La *stabilitas loci* nel monachismo bizantino," OCP 21 (1955): 115–42 (an excellent survey); cf. D. M. Nicol, "Instabilitas loci: The Wanderlust of Late Byzantine Monks," in *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition* (Oxford, 1985), 193–202. The term *kykleutes*, used by the 5th-century St. Neilos, seems not to appear elsewhere in medieval Byzantine sources.

¹⁰⁷ Mauropous, ed. de Lagarde, 131, 207.

Mount Olympos, with its rough terrain and scattered shrines, attracted not crowds but individual pilgrims who, as noted, were mostly local people in search of cures for themselves or their cattle. Mount Latros attracted a similar following. Only Joannikios of Olympos drew a high-class clientele. In all these cases, both churchmen and laity made the pilgrimage, with local peasants evidently forming the majority. Evidence for the minor shrines is more fragmentary, but here too it appears that the pilgrims were mostly local. All in all, the available evidence suggests that most visitors to shrines came from the nearby regions, in constant and often large numbers, and consisted mostly of ordinary people, from the city and especially the countryside.

Far less information is available about the means and conditions of travel or the way the shrines handled the crowds they received.¹⁰⁸ For the most part, pilgrims seem to have traveled by foot: that was certainly the case of Peter of Atroa, Lazaros of Galesion, the young Manuel from Paphlagonia, and others whose *vitae* support such detail. They wisely traveled in groups, for the roads and accommodations could offer unexpected dangers. The Paphlagonian Manuel, carrying the offerings of his village to Chonai, got tired as he passed through the Anatolic theme and decided to stop before reaching the village where he usually stayed. He wound up in a house of thieves who happily took him in, planning to murder him for the money he was carrying. Likewise, St. Cyril from Phileae in Thrace reached Chonai around 1075 and stayed in an inn (*pandocheion*) whose owner robbed him of his money and almost took his clothes.¹⁰⁹ More obvious dangers faced saints who insisted on traveling during times of troubles. St. Antony the Younger never reached his destination, Ephesos, because of the prevailing Arab danger; instead his friend Petronas took him off to the safety of a mountaintop fortress. The Georgian George Hagiorites was almost captured by the Turks as he headed for Caesarea in 1059.¹¹⁰ International pilgrims, of course, traveled by sea, as did the sailors who stopped at Daphnousia for their supply of oil and no doubt many other visitors to maritime shrines.

The two dangerous pilgrimages to Chonai, incidentally, seem to be the only accounts that mention the places where pilgrims might stay. Those making long journeys, of course, need accommodation along the road as well as at their goal. To judge by these examples, there were villages that regularly received pilgrims, and the great pilgrimage sites had inns, as would naturally be expected. But only the imagination or comparison from the much more abundant evidence for late antiquity can fill in the picture. Likewise, there is virtually no evidence how the churches actually handled the crowds. Only the account of Joannikios, indignant at having to enter the church of St. John with the common herd, shows that the churches shut their doors at a certain time and allowed no one to enter outside the normal hours. These hours are not stated, but at Chonai Lazaros could pray in the narthex till nightfall and then attend an early morning service.¹¹¹ It seems probable that the pilgrimage churches were open from dawn to dusk.

¹⁰⁸ See Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 163–76, 211f, for information from late antiquity on these subjects. See also the interesting work of E. Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins* (Paris, 1993).

¹⁰⁹ E. Sargologos, *Vie de S. Cyrille le Philéote* (Brussels, 1964), chap. 18.

¹¹⁰ F. Halkin, “Saint Antoine le Jeune et Pétronas le vainqueur des Arabes en 863,” *AB* 62 (1944): 218; for George Hagiorites, see F. Peeters, “Histoires monachiques géorgiennes,” *AB* 36/37 (1917–19): 121f.

¹¹¹ *Vita* of Joannikios by Peter, *AASS* Nov. 2.1:409, chap. 43; *vita* of Lazaros, *AASS* Nov. 3:511; M. Kaplan’s article in this volume offers another explanation for Joannikios’s reluctance to enter the church with everyone else.

Asia Minor, then, was evidently the site of continuous and frequent pilgrimage throughout the Byzantine period. Pilgrims, both lay and cleric, flocked to the major sites, especially at festival time, when they often combined business with spiritual improvement. Yet there was also a network of lesser shrines, now only dimly perceived, that attracted the devotions of local people. These humble villagers probably formed the majority of pilgrims at all times and in all regions. Like their better-known brethren who traveled long distances, they came to renew their faith, pray, and especially to seek cures. Although the brilliant image of late antiquity cannot be reproduced for these long centuries, the evidence, however scattered, suggests that pilgrimage was a living vital force, an essential part of the lives of individuals and communities as long as Byzantium survived, and, in fact, for long after.

Anatolia also offered holy places to pilgrims of another religion. From earliest days, Muslims were accustomed to make an annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Many stopped on the way to visit other sites sacred to their faith.¹¹² Some of these were in Asia Minor, but for most of the Byzantine period peaceful travel there was not an option for Muslims whose states were as often as not at war with Byzantium. Inaccessibility posed a real problem in regard to a site especially dear to Islam, the cave of the Seven Sleepers whose legend forms part of the Koran.¹¹³ So did identification. Although some understood Ephesos as the site of the miracle, many alternatives were offered, often after serious investigation.¹¹⁴ Tradition traces the search for the cave back to the earliest years of Islam when a certain Ubayda ibn al-Samit was dispatched in 632 to the Byzantine emperor to urge him to convert or face war. Ubayda recounted that his party came to a red mountain that was supposed to contain the Cave. They inquired at a local monastery and were shown the site which he described in some detail. A century later, in 720, Mujahid ibn Yazid was returning from an embassy to Constantinople. He passed by Amorion and Laodikeia and came to a place called al-Hawiya where he found a cave with well-preserved bodies. Both descriptions (which probably refer to the same place) mention the feast day of the Sleepers when the locals wash the bodies. Al-Hawiya, evidently in Lykaonia, has not been identified. In the ninth century, the caliph al-Wathik (842–847) sent a famous scholar, Muhammad ibn Musa the Astronomer, to find the Cave. He determined that it lay in the district of Kharama between Amorion and Nicaea where a mountain had a passage that led to the chamber with its remarkably preserved bodies.¹¹⁵ The geographer Idrisi visited this place in 1117; he confirmed that it, not Ephesos, was the correct site of the story.¹¹⁶ In fact, there is a famous cave in a suitable location, at Inönü, so large that its entrance was blocked by a fortification wall.¹¹⁷ Yet none of these efforts really resolved the problem, nor did they result in a reg-

¹¹² Full consideration of this subject would reach beyond the limits of this paper; for a general introduction, see J. Sourdel-Thomine, ed. and trans., *al-Harawi, Guide des lieux de pèlerinage* (Damascus, 1957), xxviii–xlvi.

¹¹³ Sura 18, *Al-Kahf*; for the Islamic version and full bibliography, see F. Paret, "Ashab al-Kahf," in *EI²*, s.v. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:309–19 discussed modern Greek and Muslim versions of the story and its location with his usual insights.

¹¹⁴ For what follows, see G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London, 1890), 274–86, with long extracts from the sources.

¹¹⁵ See the full text in ibn Khordadbeh, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, ed. and trans. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1889), 106f. (text), 78f. (trans.).

¹¹⁶ *Géographie d'Idrisi*, trans. P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836), 2:299f.

¹¹⁷ For this site, see Belke, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, 281; it contains no trace of Muslim or Christian pilgrimage.

ular pilgrimage. That was reserved for Arabissos whose Arabic name Afsus was conveniently similar to that of Ephesos, Afsis, and which lay safely in territory controlled by the Arabs since the seventh century. Their pilgrimage site a few miles from the city was long frequented.¹¹⁸ So was a rival site near Tarsos, first mentioned in the tenth century and visited by both Christian and Muslim pilgrims in modern times. Barren women were supposed to be cured by sleeping in this cave.¹¹⁹

One of the visitors to Afsus was al-Harawi who traveled through Asia Minor around 1180, when most of it was safely in the hands of the Muslim Turks. He was a pilgrim in the same sense as the Christians already discussed, visiting sites both sacred and curious. Several were worth attention from a religious point of view.¹²⁰ After leaving Constantinople, he stopped in Nicaea where, surprisingly, he visited the church that had the image of the First Ecumenical Council. The site was of interest because of a belief that the Messiah himself had been present among the Fathers, for Christ is one of the prophets recognized by Islam (when Harawi was in the Holy Land, his pilgrimage included Christian as well as Muslim sites). From there, he proceeded to Amorion to see the tombs of the martyrs who had fallen in the successful campaign of al-Mu'tasim in 832. This city was famed among Christians for its own Forty-two Martyrs, who had been captured in the very same campaign; but they had been executed and buried in Iraq, and their cult was celebrated in the capital; there is no evidence for a local church or cult. For al-Harawi, the main attraction of Konya (Ikonion) was the tomb of Plato in the church next to the great mosque. This was the church of St. Amphiliocios where both Christians and Muslims were making pilgrimage in the Turkish period. Muslims attributed magical powers to the "divine" Plato who was often accorded the devotion appropriate to a saint.¹²¹ Kayseri (Caesarea) on the other hand had several worthy goals: the prison of Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiya, son of the caliph Ali; the mosque of the hero al-Battal who had fallen fighting the Byzantines in 740; the bath that the sage Apollonios had built for Caesar, and various antiquities. Nearby was Mount Asib with the tomb of the famous Arab poet Imru'l Kays.

Harawi proceeded east to Divriği (Tephrice) where he found a cave chamber containing, he was told, the bodies of martyrs from the time of the caliph Umar (634–644). In front of it were a church and a mosque, for the site was frequented by both Christian and Muslim pilgrims. The remarkably well-preserved bodies included a group of twelve resting on a bed. The Christians claimed them as their own, but the Muslims identified them with warriors martyred on the spot in the earliest campaigns of Islam. The description is so close to the early accounts of the Seven Sleepers that it can be taken as referring to the tomb of Hawiya, which evidently was reverenced throughout the Middle Ages. From there, Harawi stopped in Afsus which he thought was the most probable site for the Seven Sleepers (he had visited a rival cavern in Spain), then Malatya (Melitene) and Erzerum (Theodosiopolis), both with reminiscences of companions of the Prophet.

These brief accounts may supplement the image of Byzantine pilgrimage. Asia Minor

¹¹⁸ See F. Babinger, "Die Örtlichkeit der Siebenschläferlegende in muslimischer Schau," *AnzW* 104 (1957): 87–95, and Hild, *Kappadokien*, 175, with the references there.

¹¹⁹ See Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:315–18.

¹²⁰ For al-Harawi's account of Asia Minor, see his *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. Sourdel-Thomine, 130–36.

¹²¹ See Hasluck's essay, "Plato in the Folk-lore of the Konia Plain," in *Christianity and Islam*, 2: 363–69; cf. p. 17.

had sites that had long been sacred to a variety of religions. In the Middle Ages, at least until the late eleventh century, Christianity was dominant in the region, so pilgrimage is seen as primarily a Christian phenomenon. But Muslims always had an interest in some Anatolian sites, notably the cave of the Seven Sleepers. Unfortunately, for them, the real cave lay in enemy territory, so they had to exercise their ingenuity to find one more accessible. After they occupied most of the country, they could expand their own goals of pilgrimage to sites renowned both in Christianity and Islam. With their final conquest of the whole peninsula, of course, Turkish pilgrimage expanded to far more sites, but Christianity was by no means dead, and its pilgrims, too, continued to frequent goals old and new as long as there was a Greek population in Asia Minor.

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